2: Schaden--115 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/95 cont./

881 867 577 not do harm to anyone, do not offend the families of others, do not mistreat anyone, behave well on journeys (that is, do not drink much liquor), have the tasks in the clearing done well, do not mistreat the woman when married" (3).

3. /From p. 98 of the original source./
Schaden, 1948c, p. 162.

[178] This enumeration is particularly interesting because of betraying the consciousness of so many problems that afflict the community in its present phase of cultural transition.

881 [184] [829] Only the Kayová give ritual emphasis to the piercing of the lip of the boys, with ceremonies of a religious stamp and not only measures of a magical nature. For the Kayová the celebration is the event that stands out most in his life cycle. Nevertheless, in the nuclei of southern Mato Grosso the celebration (called there kunumí-pepý, or kunumí-pica, hybrid form) is doomed to disappear, an inevitable consequence of the dominant [114] new conditions of life in these groups. The data that I have were obtained principally in the village of Amambai.

[756] It is the Ñanderú (paí) or doctor-sorcerer who decides on holding the celebration. Failing to hold it for a very long period, the community would be the victim of misfortunes. The common [304] [561] interval between one celebration and another, varying according to the number of boys of an age to have their lip pierced (between 8 and 12 years old, more or less) is about four years, on the aver- [628] age. On this occasion the Kayová of two or three neighboring villages gather together.

[243] In general the kunumí-pepý coincides in the respective year with the maize celebration, avatí-mongaraí (ceremonial harvesting of the first maize), which is held when the corn is ripening, that [561] is, from January on. For the piercing of the lip there ought to be about ten boys of the age indicated; those who are more than twelve years old no longer undergo the ceremony. Therefore there are adults who do not have the labial hole. As early as a year [262] in advance the candidates start avoiding heavy food, especially certain game, preferably nourishing themselves with chicha.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

secular realm. With regard to their spiritual powers they seem to have varied considerably from individual to individual. Female shamans existed, but their powers were usually less than those of the leading male shamans. A knowledge of medicines, magic, and witchcraft was not the exclusive possession of anyone, and, indeed, men especially acquired more of such knowledge, as a rule, as they grew older. But this was not the same as being a recognised *pa'i*, a regular office whose duties included rain-making, divination, curing, and ceremonial leadership in extended family or group-wide ceremonies. Cayuá *pa'i*, judging largely from comparative and contemporary evidence, had familiar spirits at their service who guided them in indicating those guilty of witchcraft, in prescribing cures, and in predicting the future. Upon the results of his work the *pa'i* was judged and rated as a *pa'i guasú* ("great shaman") or as a less powerful practitioner. The *pa'i* was certainly a force in the community, and even if the secular leadership were not manifestly combined with the spiritual, it is doubtful whether a secular leader could often seriously oppose the word of a *pa'i guasú*. The fame of a "great shaman" even transcended the limits of his own community, and he was consulted by members of neighboring groups in particularly difficult matters or those in which, perhaps for political reasons, the local shaman demurred. The information about the Tupinambá,[80] as well as the accounts of the Jesuits concerning the Guarani, both indicate the existence of especially powerful *pa'i* whose names were widely known. Such men could count upon being respectfully received in villages many miles distant to which they might choose to travel. These more powerful shamans were often of particular annoyance to the priests of Rome, and for the Guarani there exist suggestions of abortive nativistic movements inspired by them.

The *pa'i* were held to have power in their breath and could infuse this virtue into other persons or into objects by breathing upon them. This was probably true of the Cayuá shamans as well. In other Tupi-Guarani groups tobacco was used for stimulating spiritual contact and making the breath still more powerful (with the smoke). It is not certain that the same was true of the *pa'i* of the Cayuá, but the presumption is strongly affirmative. It was probably the *pa'i* who led the first fruits ceremonies and those for consecration of the seeds. Although a large number of plant remedies seem to have been generally known by all, at least one difference between the ordinary person and the shaman in this regard is that the *pa'i* was often the only one able to diagnose a given case of sickness. Thus he alone was able to know exactly which certain remedy was indicated. Particularly when the affliction was one instigated by witchcraft were the special talents of the *pa'i* indispensable and the limited ordinary herbal lore of the layman relatively hopeless.

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[80] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 36.

/32 cont./
made up of those who have spent a large part of their lives outside of the Indian aldeias, having lived in closer contact with the whites, speak and know only the modified type of the language, admitting that they have difficulty at times in understanding the speech of some of the older ones. I found very few of these cases.

Taquapirí, the aldeia under consideration in this article, is located in the Federal Territory of Ponta Porã, between the Brazilian settlements of União and Nhu Verá, about two leagues from the Paraguayan border. At present about 175 individuals are counted in the aldeia, many of them relatives and friends of other Cayuá of the various groups of these Indians in the region, such as the Posto Índigena "Benjamin Constant," Mangaí, Iguassutí, Ipeum, and Pirajuí. The Cayuá nowadays devote themselves intensively to agriculture, making large clearings, and devoting little time to hunting or fishing. Von Koenigswald states that at the beginning of the twentieth century, the period in which he traveled through the /33/ region, the same was not true. "Every Indian village maintains a small clearing with maize, mandioca, gourd, sweet potato..." (4).

4. Ibid., p. 7.

About 40 or 50 years ago, more or less, the restrictions with which the whites reduced the area of land that the Indians can use were becoming more accentuated. Today the Indians of Taquapirí are limited to a territory which is not watered by rivers that contain a large amount of fish and which does not have forests with plentiful game either. This progressive diminution of the Indians' territory remains alive in the memory of part of the older men of the group. The introduction of the machete to this group, an event that took place at least in a period much earlier than the reduction of the Indians' territory on the part of the whites and which was going to facilitate the opening of the clearings in the forest, constituted another important factor of the change observed in the economy of the Cayuá /The index number for footnote 5